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CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY

An International Psychological Quarterly

Volume IV
September, 1935—June, 1936

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THE BALINESE TEMPER*

JANE BELO
New York City

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In examining the psychological character of a people such as the Balinese, who number more than a million, we have no choice but to take up one by one the simple habits of the individual which are common to the people as a whole, noting the patterns occurring in the adult, and how the child by his early conditioning is molded into a personality essentially Balinese. If, in an effort to cast light upon problems of personality, one wished to set forth special traits, special individual developments to be found among the Balinese, one would find it difficult to make one's self understood unless some picture had previously been drawn of the people's psychological nature, as evidenced in the general character of their ways of behaving. For what are among them universal traits might be mistaken for individual deviations. Therefore it seems advisable to describe the general trend of personality development against a background suggesting the tenor of the life, the modes of feeling and of activity, which may range from a subdued stillness to states of exalted animation without being excluded from the habitual and universal trends.

By the Balinese temper I mean the nature and ways of the people as a whole. In my presentation individual examples will serve as illustrations of the general trends, and in certain cases indicate deviations from them. I believe that the Balinese exemplify by their behavior how closely the individual may be required to conform to patterns laid down by the social group, with what rhythmic and unstrained ease he may, under such laws, accomplish the tasks exacted of him, and in what apparent contentment he may exist, when no problem is without an answer in his scheme of things. A description of the making of such adjustments, and the formation of the personality

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* This study is based on four years' acquaintance with the people, during which I resided with my husband, Colin McPhee, in a wholly Balinese village, making studies of the arts, music, legends, and rituals in their intimate correlation with Balinese life.

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through them, may be of interest because of the foreignness of the setting, of the society in which they are made. My method will consist in an enumeration of a series of patterns of behavior, beginning with the simplest, which give to the outsider his initial impression. The simplest passages of behavior differ from our own no less than do the highly complex thought mechanisms, so closely interlocked with them. Ordinary behavior, the way of walking, of sitting, of greeting acquaintances, of taking nourishment, speech-habits, gesture, and facial expression, all these differ from our own, and all are founded not only on the way of life, but on the people's conception of it, and of the place of the individual in relation to it. And conversely, the higher concepts are built up out of component units, the simpler habits of ordinary behavior. In a discussion of the Balinese temper we shall have to consider both phases, and we shall find them often interdependent and inseparable.

Bearing and Pace

To a Westerner, the most striking characteristic in the ordinary behavior of a Balinese is the absolute poise and balance of his bearing, noticeable in his posture, his walk, his slightest gesture. All mature men and women have this poise, and even the small children develop it with remarkable rapidity. Almost never does one see a stooped or curving back even among the old people, and clumsiness and lack of coördination are rare. The impression is that of a nation favored with an unusually fine physique, with natural dignity and ease in every motion. But together with the impression of ease, one remarks a sort of *carefulness* in the bearing, as if each foot were placed in its appointed place, each turn of the head or flick of the wrist calculated not to disturb an equilibrium delicately set up, and hanging somewhere unseen within the individual. One learns that the Balinese is never unconscious of his position in space, in relation to *kadja*,[1] North, which is the direction of the mountains, and *kelod*, South, the direction of the sea; and in relation to his position above the ground, which should not be higher than that of his social superior.

[1] The mountains which form the central part of the island are conceived as the abode of the gods, and the highest and most holy place. The sea is by contrast the lowest place, and although there is also a god of the sea, the sea and the seashore are conceived as unholy, and all that is filthy must be cast there, or into the rivers which carry their own filth down to the sea. As the present observations were made in South Bali, for the sake of convenience *kadja* is translated North and *kelod* South. On the other side of the mountains, in North Bali, *kadja* means South, and *kelod* North, since the relative position of the inhabitants to the mountains is reversed. *Kangin*, East, and *kaoeh*, West, remain the same in both localities.

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superior. It would seem that a great deal of the "carefulness" in the manner of the Balinese springs from his habit of adjusting his position according to the laws of his cosmology and his social group. The other great factor is the habitual avoidance of any impulsive movement which could shock or otherwise momentarily disturb the feeling of well-being in the body.

The individual Balinese moves slowly, with deliberation. Westerners, seeing for the first time films representing the Balinese at their daily tasks, are immediately struck by the slow tempo of their actions. If a man seated in one pavilion of his house-court suddenly wishes to show something which is in another pavilion, he will rise to his feet and saunter across the intervening space, quite as if he were going for a casual stroll. He will never hurry, as we would, eager to grasp the object which has come to mind. There is plenty of time, and to hurry would be unusual, unnecessary, and stupid—a waste of energy. Walking along the roads, each individual progresses with an even, measured step. The custom is to walk in single file, probably because the trails are narrow, and even today when the gravel covered motor roads are used for long distance walking, there is only a narrow track at the side which is comfortable to bare feet. Rarely does one individual walking in the single file pass another, for all go at the same rhythmic pace. This pace seems to be kept over long distances as well as short, and is hardly influenced when the walker carries a medium load (about forty pounds). Women carry such a load with facility, balanced on their heads. Men usually carry much heavier weights, divided in two parcels, one of which is slung at either end of a bamboo pole balanced on the shoulder. Invariably when the load is heavy (a hundred pounds or so) the man with the shoulder bar proceeds at a short run, almost a trot, and he keeps up this pace without ever slowing down to a walk. The idea is not to get there more quickly; but the motion of the trot vibrates the pliant shoulder-bar, so that the weights at either end swing up and down, thus relieving the pressure on the shoulder. This pace however has become customary to people heavily laden, and a woman bearing on her head one of the large offerings of rice, fruit, and cakes (often a cone four or five feet high) will proceed with the same accelerated steps that the men use under their heavy shoulder-bars.

A test of the evenness of the habitual pace, kept up over long distances, came on the occasion of an annual ceremony at a temple on the southernmost shore. A Balinese whose house stood next to

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mine visited the temple on that day, accompanied by his two wives and two children, approximately eight and ten years old. All carried offerings and supplies of food and betel for the journey, but no member of the little group could be said to be heavily laden. They started "in the hour before dawn," which would be about five o'clock in the morning. When I arrived at the temple by motor they were seated outside taking their meal, having already made their prayers and presented their offerings. Shortly afterward they must have started homeward, for I passed them on my return, proceeding at an even steady pace along the road. At half-past three in the afternoon they reached home, apparently not the least exhausted by their walk of over fifty miles, as registered on the speedometer of my car. Even if one assumes that they spent only half-an-hour at the temple, they covered the fifty miles in ten hours, averaging certainly no less than five miles an hour. The road led up and down over several steep hills, and at least half of the way through arid fields, with no tree to give shade. This family, whose expedition I was able to time, was only one of hundreds visiting the temple on that day, and their excursion was in no sense unusual.

Physical Exertion and Well-Being

A great part of the land lying between the high mountain district and the shore is formed in longitudinal ridges which run parallel to each other, and no great distance apart. Between these ridges are the steep-walled ravines, where the rivers flow, and where are found most of the drinking and bathing springs. Villages are apt to be placed on the high ground, so that in inter-village traffic, walkers going North and South follow an easy up or down grade along the top of the ridge. But a person travelling East and West finds many a steep climb and precipitous descent along his path. Every member of the family is accustomed to go down at least once a day to the river or the bathing-place for his bath, and many must climb up and down several times in a day—the women and girls carrying water for household needs, the men going to and fro in their work in the steeply terraced rice-fields, the small boys escorting their special charges, the ducks and the water buffalo, down from the dry ground for their daily immersion. Mothers carry babies on their hips, at the same time balancing a forty-pound jar of water on their heads, yet never do they waver in their erect posture nor vary their slow even pace on the steep and often slippery incline. Little girls of five

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or six already carry a coconut-shell full of water on their heads. Little girls of five Gradually the weight of water is increased, until, on reaching maturity, the slender girl can manage as heavy a load as her mother and aunts. Neither do the aged women shirk the task. Kintil, whom I judged to be no less than sixty, and who lacked only a few months of being a great-grandmother, made the daily descent of more than two hundred feet along an almost vertical trail, and, in wet weather or dry, never failed to carry up her jar of water. She would, I believe, hate to give up carrying water, for that would constitute an admission of her failing strength.

There is an undercurrent of superstition in the Balinese mind that to "give up" will *cause* weakness, and increased vulnerability to the dangers of illness. For illness is conceived as imposed from the outside by malevolent forces, which lurk everywhere, ready to rush into the body of anyone whose strength and purity (both physical and spiritual) are for the time below the normal, outbalanced by the share of weakness and impurity which form a part of every human being. That is why people who have undergone a trying ordeal are not spared and pampered, but urged to get up and go on as if nothing had happened to them. Women who have just given birth to a child go down to the river for their bath as soon as the three days of sequestration within the house are passed; and this sequestration (during the period of "uncleanness" following the birth) is as much to protect the village from contamination by the mother and child as to protect the latter from the attacks of evil spirits, to which they are especially vulnerable at this time. Rantoen went down to her bath as soon as she could walk following an exhausting bout of fever, and she attempted to carry up her jar of water, although the household was well supplied. Probably this unnecessary exertion brought on the relapse—she fell down on the trail, then clambered up with her empty jar and went to bed for several more days. But the desire for the daily bath is so strong in the Balinese who dwell in the hot regions that they will take any risks rather than forego it. The bath at the end of a long day in the heat is considered essential to the feeling of well-being within the body. "If I have my bath, I shall feel well," argues the Balinese, even in illness. And Rantoen undoubtedly believed she would regain her strength more quickly if she carried up the jar of water.

The same refusal to admit weakness and to spare the sick person was shown in two cases which I witnessed. A boy fainted, and

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remained unconscious for an hour and twenty minutes. His relatives showed great concern, and exerted themselves tirelessly to bring him to, blowing in his ears and eyes, rubbing his feet and hands, going to fetch arak and hot peppers which they put down his nostrils. But when at last he had regained consciousness they insisted that he should walk home, a distance of half a mile or more, and refused either to allow him to be carried or to remain in a strange house. The best thing was for him to walk home as if nothing had happened. On another occasion a woman was found unconscious in a field, knocked in the head with an axe. When she had been brought to and her wound attended, she was forced to attempt to walk the hundred yards to her house, although she was a tiny thing and her husband or any one of the men present could have carried her with ease. They did support her under the arms, and on arrival at the house, lift her onto her bamboo couch. But no matter how weak, she was not to be carried home like a corpse.

Orientation in Space

The question of position is so significant to the Balinese because of their acute consciousness of their position in relation to the surrounding space of their world. There are three ways for a man to be: erect (standing or "going"); seated (sitting or squatting); and recumbent (the words for sleeping and lying down are the same). Even children never stand on their heads nor turn somersaults. There is felt to be something wrong about the inverted position, with the head where the feet ought to be; and one of the best-known demons, who is pictured on the astrological calendar standing on his hands, is called Kala Soengsang, to be translated Demon Upside-down. Babies are never seen to crawl—they are held or carried until old enough to stand on their two feet. Only animals walk on all fours. I have spoken elsewhere of an incest punishment in which the offending pair are forced to crawl on all fours to a pigs' drinking trough.[3] To fall down is considered an unlucky sign, a presage that worse things may happen, occasioned by the evil forces which are only "trying their strength" in causing the harmless fall. When one of the members of my household fell and broke her arm, the entire group seemed more concerned over the fact that she had fallen than over the actual injury. They said that several of them had fallen,

[3] See the author's paper, "On Rites and Customs Connected with the Birth of Twins in Bali," in the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal, Land & Volkenkunde*, Batavia, 1935.

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that now things were getting worse, and that the place should by all means be purified by a great *metjaroe* ceremony, to drive away the demons and bad spirits who were growing bolder. Falling is a shock which upsets the nice balance of well-being, just as the feeling of a rush of blood to the head in an inverted position is uncomfortable, and must therefore be wrong.[2*] Fathers and grandfathers who hold their young children in their laps for hours at a time never swing them about nor cast them in the air as ours are apt to do. Men and women will always endeavor to keep their erect posture, their even pace, their absolute balance, regardless of obstacles in the way, and to cultivate this tendency in the child. White men who scamper down a hillside, in excess of good spirits and momentum, or who leap over a stream, will always evoke laughter in the Balinese who walks sedately on, stepping into the water as if it did not exist, so long as the even measure of his gait is not interrupted. Because his feet are bare and the water warm, there would seem to be no reason to exert himself to jump over the stream. If it were not that the Balinese never jump, one would say that their habits are only better adjusted than ours to a climate uniformly hot, where it is better to conserve one's energy for those exertions required in the daily work. But the systematic avoidance of all shocks and pains and disturbances of the circulation of the blood characteristic of all adult Balinese would indicate that a more specialized consciousness of the body is involved. And this theory is supported by the fact that the average Balinese, although he has plentiful supplies of distilled arak and palm-wine, does not like to get drunk. The feeling of confusion, the lack of his usual surefootedness and sense of equilibrium, are so unpleasant to him that he does not often risk the experience. And the whirling of the universe which precedes nausea is positively terrifying. Then he is indeed *lost*.

Malay people have a term for the sensation of being lost, *keliru*. In the Balinese language the word is *paling*. To be *paling*, they say, is "not to know where North is"; in other words, he is *paling* who has lost his sense of direction, or who has lost the sense of his own position in relation to the geography of his world. One man whom I knew was taken for a trip in a motor car. He fell asleep during the

[2*] The Balinese do not express in words the idea that to upset balance is wrong, but they do express it in their affective response. A look of pain, of fear, or of anxiety appears on the face of an adult who tumbles, or of a child who is held upside down, which far surpasses in feeling the response we should expect, and is comparable only to the responses called out by other "wrongs" against the social and religious laws.

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ride. When the car stopped, he awoke, and leaping out, looked about him desperately, crying, "Where's North, where's North? I'm *paling*."

So accustomed are the Balinese to know where they are in relation to the points of the compass that all instructions of direction are given in these terms, rather than in "right and left," or such designations as "towards me," "away from the wall," etc. The Balinese says "when you come to the cross-roads, take the turn to the West"; "pull the table southward"; "he passed me going North"—not "going towards the market"; even among musicians, "hit the key to the East of the one you are hitting." When for any reason this sense of direction is temporarily lost, when, as we phrase it, a man feels "turned around," he is not only uncomfortable but he is quite unable to function. We once sent a small boy of eight to a distant village where he was to learn to dance, living in the house of his teacher. Riding in the car, the child lost his sense of direction. When we visited him three days later, he had not begun his lessons, for he was still *paling*. "How can I tell him to turn to the East, to advance towards the North, when he is *paling*?" said the teacher. The boy was returned to his village, where, once on familiar ground, he found himself. After several days he went back to the house of the teacher, intently watching every curve of the winding road. But it was no good—he was again *paling*. He grew anxious, and was unable to eat and sleep. Then someone thought of taking him out into the fields, where he could see the high cone of the Goenoeng Agoeng, the highest mountain, rising to North. He was cured of his trouble on the spot, and had no recurrence of it during the six weeks of his stay in the village. He seemed happy there and made great progress with his dancing.[8]

As a rule the small children are not bothered with the responsibility of direction, for they play within the circumscribed limits of the particular *bandjar* (division of the village) which is theirs, or in the outlying rice-fields. On this ground they are at home. When they visit other villages they go in the company of their parents or near relatives, an older brother or cousin, who knows the way. But their

[8] It is probable that an important factor in what we know as homesickness is the dislocation of the sense of direction in unfamiliar surroundings. In the life of the civilized being, who continually moves about and changes the habitual interior from which he orients himself, this sense must be seriously disturbed. Wild animals seem to be perfectly oriented. And domesticated animals manifest uneasiness and make definite attempts to orient themselves, or to return to familiar surroundings, when they are removed from one place to another.

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consciousness of position in space develops naturally together with the use of language, and the words "kadja," "kelod," "koaeh," and "kangin" are frequently heard in the chatter of the four and five year olds. When such a group was making drawings at my house, they arranged between them which was to have the South wall, which the East, and so on.

Every Balinese sleeps with his head either to the North (in North Bali, South; see footnote, p. 2) or to the East. He may not even lie down for a moment in the opposite direction, for the feet are dirty and may not be put in the place of the head. To lie in the reversed position is said to be "lying like a dead man," although the Balinese in South Bali are not buried with their heads to the South. The implication is that only a dead man, who could not help himself, would lie in this dangerously wrong way.

Sense of Social Orientation

By imitation of their elders the children soon learn also on which "level" they should sit at formal gatherings. Within the courtyard of the Balinese house are a number of pavilions, each on a foundation of sandstone varying in height from two to four feet. On the platforms so formed are couches of bamboo, constructed between the pillars which support the roof. It is customary to sit either upon the clay floor of the foundation-platform or on the couches, which also may vary in height. Thus are provided a hierarchy of sitting-places, whose relative height may be easily ascertained, as the pavilions are without walls.

In family groups no particular attention is paid to the arrangement of levels, and a little girl does not have to stop to think whether or not she is sitting higher than grandfather. But on the advent of a visitor, especially if he be of higher caste than the family of the host, politeness requires that he be given the highest place. At a wedding which I attended of a young man of noble birth, a nephew of the Radja, or Regent of the district, the most formal rules were observed in the seating of the guests. On the floor of the highest pavilion sat the High Priests. On a near-by lower pavilion sat the men of rank, and across the court on a still lower pavilion, the women of the family, also of noble birth. Some chairs were provided for the male guests of the "advanced" type, but these were avoided by the more humble members of the group. Even those seated on chairs were on a level inferior to that where the High Priests sat, cross-legged on the floor.

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legged on the floor. Servants and retainers, people of low caste, came and went through the court. Other pavilions for their use were provided in a rear court, where they would eventually receive a share of the feast; but if any man wished to be seated in the court of honor, he might, after making a reverence with joined hands, squat down on the ground anywhere without fear of offending his social superiors. When all were assembled, the Radja appeared. He marched across the courtyard, mounted the steps of the pavilion where the High Priests sat, and seated himself crosslegged on the bamboo couch which formed the highest level within the court.

The Place of the Children

On occasions such as this when the strictest etiquette must be observed the children are not much in evidence, so quiet are they, so intent on watching their elders and imitating their behavior. Small babies may be present, but they are not heard to cry, for at the first whimper they are given the breast of the mother. This applies to children up to two and three years old, provided no younger brother or sister has taken their place. Aunts, cousins, and elder sisters (from the age of eight or nine) habitually carry or hold children of this age. But it is not customary for a woman other than the mother to suckle the child. A youngster may scuttle across the intervening space which divides the women from the men, scramble into its father's lap, and sit there quiet and solemn-eyed. This is not in the least embarrassing to the fathers, who are extremely affectionate and proud to show off their young. It is not unusual to see a player in the gamelan orchestra holding on his knees for two or three hours his small child, while he reaches around it, beating the keys of his resounding instrument.

As the children grow older, the boys tend to clan together in groups of their own age, whereas the girls stay more closely beside their mothers. One often sees a gang of small boys playing in the village street, flying kites made of a leaf, or a captive dragon-fly, or playing "jacks" or gambling games with pebbles. In contrast to their elders, they do run, skip, and tumble, but rarely does the play take a rough turn. Quarrels consist of brusque words and threatening gestures on the part of the stronger child, while the weaker immediately assumes an attitude of submission, or, if he is struck, utters the plaintive "ado!," equivalent to our "ouch!" The utterance

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857 of this pain-word seems to satisfy the oppressor, who desists. I
201 never witnessed nor heard of a case where one small boy "beat up"
578 another. Certainly the hierarchy of ages recognized in any family group tends to discourage fighting, for every child knows that he is
561 allowed to "speak down to," scold, and order about his younger
857 brothers and cousins, just as he himself is spoken down to and ordered about by brothers and all relatives older than he. The system works smoothly, for if one is humiliated by an elder, one may take out one's venom on a younger member of the familiar group. The accumulation of ill-humor does not fall too heavily upon the youngest child, for he can always take refuge behind the protective skirts of the mother, who is older, and therefore in authority, over his oppressor. So are the scales balanced.

562 Very small girls are sometimes seen in the company of the boys
857 who play in the streets. But by the time the girls reach the age of responsibility—seven or eight—they are more apt to remain in the housecourt with the mother, taking a part in her work. Or if they
[482] are seen along the road, they carry on their hip a younger child en-
[855] trusted to their care.[4] These diminutive nursemaids saunter up and down, or stand watching the play of the boys, prevented from joining in the activity by the responsibility, and the actual weight of their charges. Girls do not play games, for gambling is a man's
[524] occupation. Neither can they share in one of the boys' favorite di-
[533] versions, that of drumming away for hours on the instruments of the village orchestra, which are generally left in an open pavilion accessible to the children. This is another occupation which belongs to the men. The girls stand by watching, and do not think of trying
[462] their hand at it, although they are not actually forbidden to do so. I have known one or two girls, dancers, who had developed quite a proficiency as musicians, but their cases were exceptional. In the same way girls are not expected to paint and draw. When I sent
53 out a call to a number of villages for the drawings of children from
562 four to ten years, and distributed materials sufficient for all, not a
857 single girl sent in a drawing, nor would the little girls of my own village attempt any drawings even under repeated encouragement. Yet these same girls are learning from their mothers the complicated
[868] arts of making offerings, cutting designs from palm-leaf, and weaving.

[854] [4] Boys also carry babies, without shame, in imitation of their fathers who habitually dandle the small children.

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Behavior at the Plays

Whenever there is a performance of dancing, drama, or the shadow-show, the entire village attends. The audience is packed closely around the four sides of the "stage"—an oblong of level ground marked off with bamboos. The first arrivals squat as near as possible, folded up into the least possible space and pressed against each other, the late comers stand in rows eight or ten deep at the back, the rear-most able to catch only an occasional glimpse of a performer's headdress. In this tight formation the audience remains from the beginning, which for a play may be anywhere between the hours of nine and midnight, to the end which comes about dawn. The whole temper of the audience is, from the actor's standpoint, ideal—watching, concentrated as one man, happy and pleasantly disposed in the warm contact of a large group of their kind, in festive mood, ready to enjoy themselves to the utmost. On the appearance of a hero, particularly graceful and gorgeous in his attire, a whispered "Bèh!" of admiration issues from a hundred mouths; and when the clowns cavort, or a rough joke is made, the entire audience rocks with mirth, the high shrieks of the women's laughter rising above the guffaws of the men. The smallest children, from two or three years upward, constitute the first rows of the audience surrounding the stage. They arrive long before the performers have any thought of beginning, and sit, in quiet expectancy, sometimes for several hours before the play begins. If for any reason a child arrives late, he will with confidence squeeze his way through the crowd, pushing past people of higher rank and superior in age, to a good place in the very front. During the performance, the children watch every detail of the action with intentness.[5] Generally even the tiniest ones stay through the night, although they fall asleep for hours at a time, and only manage to wake up for the most exciting parts, battles, or the enacting of bewitchment.

Older boys and girls, especially those who have passed adolescence, come to the performance in groups of two or three friends.

[5] In connection with the close integration of the Balinese children with the life of their elders, one sees a parallel with the gentle and maternal Arapesh people, as described by Margaret Mead. She says of their children, ". . . games are played very seldom. More often the times when children are together in large enough groups to make a game worth while are the occasions of a feast, there is dancing and adult ceremonial, and they find the rôle of spectatorship far more engrossing." And again, ". . . early experience accustoms them to be part of the whole picture, to prefer to any active child-life of their own a passive part that is integrated with the life of the community" (*Sex and Temperament*, New York, William Morrow and Company, 1935, pp. 57-58).

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883 the girls with their arms entwined about each other, the boys often
545 holding hands. Such a group of boys will arrange to sit down in a place immediately behind a group of girls, so that, as the press in the audience increases, they will be huddled more and more together. It
[83A] would be unseemly to stroke or to caress a member of the opposite sex in public. But if a girl is so placed that she must lean against one's knee, or her shoulder touch one's shoulder and her sleepy head droop, who can find fault? In the dim light—for the stage is
831 illumined by only one or two flickering oil lamps, and the audience is in almost complete obscurity—flirtation is favored. Occasionally
883 a girl rises and leaves the audience, to be followed after a short interval by the youth who has been seated near her. One supposes that a rendezvous has been arranged for a few moments of stolen love in the surrounding darkness.

Development of Decorum

882 By the time boys and girls have fully matured, they must behave with the decorous composure proper for adults. A boy of fifteen who belonged to my household was sometimes guilty of acts of clumsiness or thoughtless irresponsibility. He broke a plate in the washing of it, or he quietly made away with half a jar of the master's jam. These misdemeanors I was apt to excuse on the grounds of his youth. But the mature men were more stern with him. "Among us," they said, "a boy of that age is considered already big. He may not behave like a small child." Very marked was the change
882 which came in Tjamploen, a talented little dancing girl, as she passed
859 adolescence. When I first knew her she was a wiry child of eleven
535 or twelve, the points of her breasts barely beginning to show. At
155 that age she was a little devil, nervous and full of life, wriggling about, always up to some prank or mischief. A gifted mimic, she would make fun of anyone or anything, and go off into hilarious laughter at her own jests, bending her slim body back and forth, slapping her thighs, or the shoulder of any person who happened to be near her. Two years later she had grown tall, and her breasts had rounded out. She was no longer eligible to dance in the group of three little *lègong* dancers of her village, although it was to a large extent her own talent which had made these dancers famous, so that they were in demand to play at festivals in the surrounding district. Tjamploen trained a new set of six-year-old dancers for her village. Then she was engaged by various other villages within a radius of

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ten or fifteen miles to train their dancers. The fact of her growing up was forcibly impressed upon her by the change in her social function. She began to behave with dignity: to carry herself decorously, to sit down carefully with both legs to one side, not sprawling anywhere, to speak when she was spoken to, to keep upon her face an habitual expression of composure. As she learned manners, she lost a great deal of the vivid spontaneous charm of her personality. But in restraining her wild ways, she acquired a new charm, that of a demure and gracious feminine creature. When still another year had passed (which would make her about fourteen or fifteen), I saw her dance again, demonstrating before a new pupil. By this time the restraint in her bearing had become natural to her, and the change was strangely reflected in her dancing. She went through the dance in which she had so excelled as a child, without the slightest deviation from the traditional motions, postures, and step-figures which she had always used—and yet the whole flavor of the dance was different. Instead of the wiry, electric little body whose stick-like arms bent in sharp angles, accenting the beat of the music, whose fingers quivered in the classical hand positions, whose little head sat stiffly on a rigid neck, whose feet stamped out with tense exactitude the vibrant music—instead of this stylized, puppet-like figure was a woman, with rounded arms, and hands of classical perfection, on her face a blank composure almost beautiful, who moved forward sedately, or glided sideways with easy grace, her curves softening the intended angles of the postures. This smooth performance of an accomplished dancer, now grown to maturity, had a beauty of its own. But it was not *lègong* dancing as it should be. Seeing it, one could not help agreeing with the Balinese, who say that only children can dance *lègong*. For the very grace and womanliness of a bigger girl infuse a disturbing element into the dance, which is in its essence sexless, impersonal, acute, and pure in its stylization.

Tjamploen still laughs, and makes jokes, and her eyes snap with merriment. But her rôle has changed from that of a talented child to that of an unwed maiden, whose behavior shows modesty and restraint, for those are the qualities which will attract a desirable husband.

Etiquette in Speech, Posture, and Manners

I have tried to give a suggestion of the strict order in the behavior of the Balinese people, and how this order is dictated by their

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way of life, their social and religious concepts, which hold them to a rigid pattern of what is fitting. In the use of language, as in other matters, definite and complex rules must be followed. The Balinese language, rich in terms with minutely differentiated meanings, is also stratified into words of all levels, which may be roughly subdivided into High and Low Balinese. Low Balinese is the familiar and current language, used between members of a family and to all friends and intimates, except when there is a disparity of caste between the speakers. A man of low caste must address his social superior in High Balinese, and he will be answered in Low. The matter is further complicated when a man of intermediate caste is being discussed, for the commoner must choose a word in referring to him neither so low as to be insulting to the ears of the noble he is addressing, nor so high as to be discourteous, for the very highest words should be reserved for reference to the noble himself.[6] Special words are to be used only in reference to animals, and to apply one of these lowest words to a man constitutes an unforgiveable insult. Strangers who meet address each other in High Balinese, asking "Whence do you come? Where are you going?," and follow this immediately with a leading question designed to discover the rank of the interlocutor, so that the language appropriate to him may be at once adopted. There is no "farewell" in the language. Visitors must ask their host's permission to depart, and the answer to this request may be either the common "yes," a dismissal, or a choice of a polite word for "go," carrying a courteous inflection because of the relative highness of the word used.

Less complex, but equally rigid, rules prescribe the actual way of sitting. Both men and women habitually squat on their heels, and this is the position most readily assumed when anyone stops for a moment what he is doing, either for conversation or for a short rest from hard labor (and it may be noted in passing that the Balinese seem to take, automatically, a rest of five or ten minutes out of every hour of hard work; look at any ten men at work in the sun, and two will be sitting under a tree; half an hour later, two others will be resting). The squatting position may also be held over long periods, in the fulfillment of any task conveniently done on or near the ground, such as the playing of certain musical instruments, or the chopping and hashing of foodstuffs on a wooden block, in prepara-

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[6] It is as if we were to choose between the expressions "he has eaten," "he has dined," and "he has partaken of his repast."

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tion for a feast. In taking the position the Balinese, be he a man of eighty or a child of eight, lowers himself with the back held straight, at the same time pulling the loin-cloth with his two hands tight over the thighs, so that the folds will not hang and expose him indecently. Women are of course, equally modest, and the little girls learn this trick earlier than the boys, for they are generally given a strip of cloth to wrap around them at the age of four or five, whereas the boys run naked several years longer.

Women sit with their legs bent back from the knees, both legs to one side. They may not take the crosslegged position which is proper for the men. A high priest, who has a right to the place of honor, will on entering a European house choose not the most softly cushioned, but the highest chair, and he will cross his legs upon the seat of it. Certain ascetics of noble caste, who have bound themselves to strict rules of behavior, may not sit down to eat facing in any direction except North or East. In the palaces of the nobility men of humble rank may sit or squat, but they are not allowed to stand or walk while a prince is seated. When they have to move about, fulfilling orders, they advance in a half-crouching position. So strongly felt is the matter of relative height that a man may ask one's permission before venturing to climb up a coconut tree to bring one refreshment.

The Balinese prefer to eat alone, and it is forbidden to speak to anyone who is eating. To speak to him would anger the god that is in him.[7] In some villages there used to be a fine imposed on any man who entered another's house and disturbed him while he was eating. Of this fine part was paid directly to the affronted person, part to the community, in compensation for disturbing the peace. Within the household there is no sitting down to a family meal. Each member takes his leaf-plate of rice at his own pleasure, carrying it off into a corner, often turning his back on his friends and relatives.[8] It is only proper to take food in the right hand while eating, although of course both hands are used in the preparation of it. Along the roads, at the markets, and at all performances are little stalls where refreshments are sold. But I have known several Balinese who said it was improper to eat in the street, and that they were "too ashamed" to do it.

[7] Here again, indigestion as a disturbance of bodily well-being is to be feared and avoided.

[8] In my own house I often surprised a boy or girl crouching alone in a dark cupboard absorbing the allotted plateful of rice, while a merry group who were not at the moment eating sat chatting without.

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The feeling of modesty—no other words seems to apply—attached to eating does not apply to drinking, and anyone will drink anywhere, without making a fuss about it. Similarly no shame is felt for urinating, which is done by both men and women along the public roads, in the open fields, anywhere except within the housecourt or on holy ground. But for defecating the people retire to relative privacy, "where the pigs are," out of sight. The many pigs and dogs act as scavengers, and may be relied upon to do away with all the filth.

Where there are gushing springs, bathing places are constructed, with walls dividing off the place of the women from that of the men. When the rivers are used for bathing, the sexes divide into groups, the men taking the upstream position, the women the downstream. But within each group modesty is shown, and the genitals may not be exposed even to a member of the same sex. The men cover themselves with one hand, the women lift their skirts gradually, and suddenly plunge waist deep in the water. Dressing and undressing may be done in public by both men and women, for their clothes are of such a nature that they can be changed without immodesty.*

Manifestations of the Emotional Life

The Balinese are universally afraid in the dark, and the fear of *léjaks,* living male and female sorcerers in supernatural form, is intensified between the hours of midnight and dawn, when these creatures are supposed to roam. Even grown boys and men will not visit at night unholy places such as the graveyard, the crossroads, certain trees and bridges where supernatural manifestations are frequent. They are afraid to walk along the dark village streets at night, unless accompanied, but if a man must go alone he sings in a loud voice to frighten away the *léjaks,* or to keep his spirits up. His housecourt is his haven. The encircling clay walls, the high ceremonial entrance gate, and the magic strip of wall immediately within this gate (to block the path of evil spirits) give him a feeling a security, sleeping upon the open pavilions. But he prefers not to sleep alone. If he has passed the age when he wishes to sleep next his wife, he will take one or two of his little sons to bed with him. Small children sleep with their parents, grandparents, or huddle in a group together.

* For the breasts, of course, the women show no modesty at all. It is only the region from the knees to the waist which must never be exposed. The Balinese feel about exposure of the thighs of women as Westerners feel about their breasts, and a woman in a Western bathing suit is extremely shocking to them for that reason.

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a group together. When a group of men who are strangers are passing through a village, they may take shelter for the night in the men's communal pavilion which stands by the roadside—an unprotected place. They curl up as close as possible to each other, like young puppies, the body of one curving around that of his neighbor, with often an arm or a leg thrown over him. A group may be so compact that if one turns over the whole group must turn. The language contains terms for light and heavy sleepers, but as a rule they sleep soundly and are hard to rouse. They are afraid to awaken each other, lest the soul of the sleeper be wandering. But the taboo seems to imply more danger to the one doing the awakening than the one awakened, for a boy who says "I do not dare to wake him" will show no objection if a foreigner takes upon himself the responsibility of awakening one of his fellows.

As has been mentioned, a man may not touch a woman, even his wife, before others. He may not touch a woman's clothes, nor should his clothes touch hers, as, for instance, in a trunk. If it is necessary to pack them together, the man's clothes must be on top. But in the privacy supplied by darkness the taboos are lifted. Lovers and married people may caress each other freely. Favorite caresses are the *tjioem*, the affectionate or passionate "sniff" which replaces our kiss, and the *saling ngaras*, "exchange of strokings," a term applied to the rubbing of cheek on cheek, both slowly turning their heads from side to side, so that the lips do come into play as they brush past each other. Love-scenes depicted in the paintings, and described in the literature, suggest that many of the refinements of the art of love which belong to Hindu tradition have been taken over by the Balinese. But for reasons of their own, which have already been made sufficiently clear, the Balinese do not use the reversed posture, nor may the woman be above. In sexual play only the left hand may be used, since the right is used for eating.

A woman is popularly supposed to have within her a *manik*. The term *manik* is applied to jewels, and to a sprite which sits in coconut trees, and is pursued by Kilap Krèbèk Geroedoeg, Thunder-and-Lightning, who, when he catches the *manik*, causes the coconut tree to be burnt up. But the *manik* in a woman is of a different sort. In sexual intercourse her *manik* is repeatedly "hit," and this contact causes it to become larger and larger until it becomes a child. After the birth of the child, she gets a new *manik*. It is possible, though by no means sure, that the Balinese conceive orgasm of both man

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and woman to be caused when the male organ finally achieves contact with the *manik*.[10]

Although a free display of the affection between the sexes, except in private, is forbidden, the Balinese have a strong tendency to hold on to and caress each other in all relations where no sexual connotation is implied. Fathers and mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, love to fondle the young children, to press their faces into them and "sniff" them, just as in the relation between a man and a woman. Two girls, two boys, or two bearded ancients will stroll along a road holding hands, or with their arms about each other. Such gestures should not be misconstrued as evidences of homosexuality, for they are no more than the habitual expressions of a demonstratively affectionate people.

Manifestations of anger are remarked much less frequently than those of love, fear, and affection in the everyday life. An equable temper is certainly the characteristic one among the Balinese. If a man is easily angered, he is said to have *kapala angin*, a Malay expression meaning "a windy head." Although one often hears voices raised in explosive and admonitory speech, they can hardly be said to be expressing anger, for among the adults, as among the children, superiors have always the right to call down their inferiors, an elder brother to speak harshly to a younger, a man to "order" (never simply to ask) his wife to do something for him. Each Balinese is habituated to thinking of himself as relatively more or less powerful than all the other members of his familiar group. And if he is less powerful, he obeys naturally and usually without remonstrance. By contrast, in larger groups, such as communal organizations, whose members are on a less intimate footing with each other, great care is taken to preserve the equality between the members. Each man is reluctant to appear to be giving an order or dictating in any way to his social equal. For this reason, in any group of workers the man whom we would call the "foreman" seems always inefficient and lacking in administrative powers; and the resulting accomplish-

[10] The reproductive function of semen is not unknown to them, as is illustrated in the popular legend of the creation of Kala, to whom Civa gave birth alone, by producing a single drop of semen. The parallel with the *manik* idea is, however, interestingly carried out in the legend, for it is only on being repeatedly struck by the arrows of the gods that the drop of semen becomes alive, gets arms and legs, a head, genitals, etc., and finally stands up and shouts, a fully formed Kala. It is difficult to tell whether the theme of the repeated striking refers to the rhythmic motion of copulation, or to an idea that a single sexual act is not sufficient to cause the development of the embryo, and that the man must continue to "strike" during gestation, so that the child will grow.

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ment has a lively, if haphazard, character, brought about by the enthusiasm of the various individuals working together virtually without a leader. One has the impression that it is fear of angering his fellows which prevents the Balinese from assuming a dominant attitude towards persons outside of his familiar group.

When anger does appear, it usually follows the pattern of the Malay "running amok," also recognized in Bali. The literature is filled with episodes in which a man, even a prince or Radja, who is overcome with grief or thwarted in his desires, "becomes confused in his mind, and retires to his sleeping-apartment, where he lies for many days and many nights, refusing both food and drink." This brooding state is the first stage in the pattern, when the man remains alone, nursing his grievances, until he has worked himself into a trance-like state, and he will have the strength to rush out and commit deeds of violence. Tales of warriors describe the stirring up of anger before going into combat; and all war dances have brooding passages interspersed between the gestures and expressions of fierce and terrifying advance. Bravery in itself is not highly valued. It is considered more natural for a man to be under the sway of fear than of anger. A man shows no embarrassment over his fear—he says quite simply "I do not dare," whether the project in question is a midnight visit to the graveyard, or climbing a coconut tree on a day of the astrological calendar when it is forbidden. The things which a man will not dare to do are those which the experience of his forbears have shown to be unwise, and to behave with intrepidity without good reason would be to court disaster, not only for himself but perhaps for the whole community.

Deviants

We have seen that in such a social scheme each individual has his place, and he has only to do what is expected of him to fit with nicety into the life of the group. But there are occasions when an individual finds it impossible to conform, and at these times disturbance and maladjustment appear. Certain temperaments, for instance, are not amenable to the national habit of submissive obedience. Women with fiery dispositions may run away from their husbands, taking shelter with their own families, and refusing to return, or departing with a lover.[11] A small boy of eight told the following story of his

[11] For cases of runaway wives see the author's "Study of a Balinese Family," *American Anthropologist*, 1936, XXXVIII, No. 1 (in press).

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156 rebellion against his father's authority, the events described having
593 occurred when he was no more than six or seven:
598 "My father beat my mother too hard, and I became too angry.
689 Then my father beat me very hard. I followed him when he went out to work in the ricefields. I took money from the pocket of his jacket which he had laid down on the edge of the fields. I ran away. For a month I did not go home.

"With the money I bought rice in the market, and I stayed out all day in the rice fields, and I never saw my father and my mother.
[604] At night I would go into the house of one of my other fathers (uncles) and sleep with the children. My father and mother did not know where I was. Then one day my mother saw me. She wept, and begged me to come home. I went home.

"My father was only silent."

In this encounter, since the father did not beat him on his return, the child seems to have triumphed over the man.

159 Another deviant is Madé, who rebelled not so much against
156 paternal authority as against the prescribed rules of tradition. He
689 is a young man of impulsive temperament, with ways unusually quick and nervous in a Balinese, quick to laugh and quick to be angered, extremely efficient when engaged in tasks which interest him, lazy and unreliable at all other tasks. Born in a small hamlet far from the town, and at several miles' distance from the motor road, he decided when still a boy to become a chauffeur. He left his farmer parents, and went to live with relatives in the town. There he attended school, learned to speak Malay, and began to pick up from older boys the knowledge of his chosen de. He served his apprenticeship with them, receiving their teaching in return for the performance of menial duties. When he had sufficient knowledge, he in turn got a job as chauffeur, and was able to marry, buying with the money he earned the rice which he had not been able to raise on his family land. (So strong is the farming background in
[963] Balinese life that any man who has had employment and loses it automatically goes back to tilling the land until he can find new work.) Although Madé is skillful as a driver and mechanic, he is not very successful. The very qualities which made him turn from the environment and occupation to which he was born, and to which his forbears had for generations conformed, impede his progress as a chauffeur. He refuses to carry out orders unless it pleases him. He is impatient with any part of his work which is not mechanical.

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He will drive tirelessly for several hundred miles, and cheerfully apply himself to any necessary repairs in a breakdown. But if after a short journey he is asked to lift out a parcel from the car, he calls another to do it for him—a very unusual thing in Balinese who are not of high caste, as they are universally reluctant to ask their equals to serve them. Another unusual quality is his lack of the sense of relaxation common to most Balinese. Generally they will sit for hours without impatience, waiting for something to happen, and they seem to find pleasant the state of doing nothing. Often they drop off to sleep. But Madé could not be left alone for ten minutes in a car; he would be off on some errand of his own, to bargain for coconuts or to flirt with some pretty girl at a market stall. He took rebukes from his masters with ill grace, flaring up in insolence, or sulking and glowering to himself. To cover up his impetuosity and his shirking of explicit orders, he developed habits of dishonesty. All these things caused him to make an unsatisfactory chauffeur, and he repeatedly lost his position, whether he worked for Europeans, or for Chinese or Arab car owners. He is an impulsive spender, vain about his costume and the prestige afforded him by his possessions. The money that he earns is soon gone, and he will probably never save enough, as many of the young men do, to buy a secondhand car of his own. This is the case of an unusually ill-adapted Balinese. It is curious to note that such a type cannot adjust itself to the new order any more than to the old. He makes many friends and many enemies among the Balinese. Men and women respond to his spontaneous charm, his vivacity and gayety as a companion. But in his friendly relations he is always getting into trouble, for he will not stick to the rules of the game.

The Force of Tradition

It is in contemplating the character of such a man that one realizes, in contrast, how closely the majority of the Balinese do conform to the scheme laid down by tradition, and how well-mannered, balanced, and relaxed they appear. The babies do not cry, the small boys do not fight, the young girls bear themselves with decorum, the old men dictate with dignity. Every one carries out his appointed task, with respect for his equals and superiors, and gentleness and consideration for his dependents. The people adhere, apparently with ease, to the laws governing the actions, big and small, of their lives. Since the material conditions of their existence have remained for

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many hundreds of years static, it has been possible for these laws to grow up, to be sifted and tested over a long period, until they have reached a code eminently suitable to the people whom they govern. For this reason it becomes easy for the child to take over the ways of his elders—the more forcibly impressed upon him because of the weight of tradition behind them, and the fear of transgressing the laws which have been shown by experience to be acceptable to the ever-present gods and demons. Actually the child is afforded no choice at all under the sanction of the community. He has only to obey the prescriptions of tradition to become an adult happily adjusted to the life which is his. And if the child is a girl, she begins very early to feel how her rôle is differentiated from that of a boy. The women accept without rancor the rôle of an inferior. It is simply that they have their being on a different plane from the men. In a society with so many stratifications, that of age within the family, of rank and of relative wealth as between families, the place of woman as an inferior is not seen as a hardship. The system of stratification works smoothly, as a rule, and all those individuals who conform to it seem happy. It is a part of the very order which gives to the life of the Balinese its stability.

When the Rules May Be Broken

The Balinese way of life even provides an organized release from the rigid code, times when individuals who feel the need of it may break almost all the rules of decorum. These are the occasions of intense and fevered group activity. There is no space here to describe these manifestations in detail, and a few examples of what I mean must suffice. In the prolonged and enthusiastic rehearsals of musicians, actors, and dancers, when all work together in a group, no attention is paid to relative rank, and a performer of noble birth takes his place in equality with the group—he sits on a level with his social inferiors, and bows to their will in matters of artistic production, if their talent be superior to his. At communal feasts men who are accustomed to eating in private gather in groups to partake of the unusual viands and delicacies which they have prepared. Here the taboos do not quite break down, for although they regale themselves with relish, no conversation is allowed between the members feasting together. At the celebration of cremations, several hundred men together cast off their habitual carefully poised bearing, and taking up the body of their friend, or the tower which is to convey

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him to the cremation place, they shout, they leap, they lift their arms 764
in threatening gestures, they whirl around and around in a mass of 786
vigorously stamping, kicking, and entangled limbs, falling down, 154
trampling upon their fellows, hurling themselves into a pool of mud
and besplattering each other with howls of glee. Again, a group of 787
villagers wishing to divine the will of the gods goes into trance— 786
tears stream down the face of a young girl, a woman sobs hys- 152
terically, an old man trembles as in an ague, a youth with rolling
eyes and thrashing limbs tries to force burning coals into his mouth. 782
Or in a ceremony for the propitiation of the King of Demons, in the 786
form of a grotesque figure of a lion, a group of men and boys clusters 152
about, shouting, prancing, pressing with all the strength of both
arms the point of a kris into their own naked chests. One holds the
handle of the weapon on the ground, with the point upward, and
hurls his body upon it, throwing both feet in the air so that he will
strike with all his weight. The term *riboet*, a Malay word meaning
"storm," is applied to a group in such an excited state. Acting under
the powerful stimulus of mass-emotion, each man forgets to be
cautious, to be dignified, to be afraid. The minor fears of pain and
bodily disturbance are for the time forgotten. When the frenzy is 787
carried to the pitch of trance, the Balinese is to a great extent in a 781
state of anaesthesia, able to dance upon hot coals or to wound him- 786
self with a dagger (although they themselves say that if the trance 152
is sufficiently deep the flesh will resist the dagger and no wound will
be sustained). But even without trance, every individual who par-
ticipates in the excitement is free to break the rules without expe-
riencing fear or shame for his unusual behavior. He is secure in the
consciousness that he is one of many, that the crowd moves as he
does.

It has seemed necessary to mention, however briefly, these forms 154
of activity which are in sharp contrast to the slow deliberate tempo, 786
the quiet dignity and balanced equilibrium of the habitual move- 527
ments. For the Balinese at their daily tasks lead a life of reserved,
steady—almost plodding—application to hard labor, made easier by
the absolute lack of tension or of any pressure from the sense of [461]
time, and by the rhythmic flow of their motions interspersed with
suitable periods of rest. But this existence, they say, is dull and
lonely without festivals and celebrations. Luckily their religion pro-
vides many occasions for celebration, and at these times the people
burst forth in a riot of true *fun*, when all together they adorn them-

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selves, they take part with enthusiasm in the elaborate preparation of offerings and the decoration of the temples, they enjoy to the utmost presentations of dancing, music, and drama, which the religion prescribes. It is significant that the audience for these presentations takes as much delight in them as the performers. Their own arts are to them completely satisfying, a fulfillment in the life of the people for whom they have been evolved. At such festivals one is impressed by the joyousness, the gayety with which the Balinese seem carried away. And just as these joyous occasions punctuate the dreary round of everyday life, so do the occasions of wild frenzy break into it, affording the individual a necessary release. If it were not for these organized departures from the habitual tempo, it would not be possible for the individual to conform, at all other times, to the rigid order of behavior which is exacted from him. And therefore we must recognize the two aspects, the quiet, relaxed, and peaceful tenor of the private life, and the intense and spontaneous exaltation of group activity, both of which are essential to the Balinese temper.

Interpretation

In conclusion, perhaps it will be well to stress once more the ease and relaxation in the ordinary behavior of the Balinese, so that an impression will not be left that any strain is caused by need to maintain a balanced equilibrium and a perfect orientation in social and geographical respects. On the contrary, the rules by which they abide seem to supply a simplication of behavior. For the Balinese life is divided into two phases quite opposed to those of the modern city dweller in our world; the Balinese works in relaxation, and in his pleasure finds intense stimulation, whereas our city dweller works under a strain of intense stimulation, and for his pleasure seeks relaxation. If there should be any doubt of the difference in tension between the two psychological types, let us imagine how the city dweller would react to certain conditions in Balinese life, as, for instance, living in a courtyard shared by ten or fifteen members of his immediate family, divided only by pavilions without walls; or sleeping in such close proximity as has been described, with a number of others; or enjoying a dramatic performance lasting for eight or nine hours, crouched in a press of bodies comparable only to one of our subway jams. These things do not offend nor put any strain upon the Balinese, because of the relaxation of his mood. Likewise

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he is able to wait for long periods without showing impatience, and to accept with composure frustration of his plans, saying simply, "It did not happen." It may be said that the agricultural way of life, requiring suitable physical exertion, and producing in a direct way the food supply, so that there may be no anxiety about it for anyone, contributes to the mental poise of the people; also that the children are surrounded with affection, and given very early a part in the work of the family group, so that they grow up feeling beloved and useful, which gives to them as individuals a sense of security. And because the rules for orientation, posture, facial expression, speech, and so forth are so universally accepted, they soon become habitual, and are carried out automatically by the people without any conscious application, without any of the strain which they would cause to us. The immutability of all the laws of conduct relieves the individual of any responsibility except that of obeying them. He does not doubt their rightness, since they have always been so. And since they are his habits, he does not have even to think of them. Beyond this, his only cares are specific misfortunes, which may always occur, but which he considers outside his power to control. Illness, flood, and famine, these are signs of the anger of the gods, and of the dominance, for the time, of the forces of evil. The religious concepts make the cause clear, and they supply, too, the remedy. Offerings must be prepared, purifications and celebrations carried out, for the propitiation of the demons and the glorification of the gods. Although it may seem to us that the Balinese lives in ever present fear of demons and of evil spirits, the strain is actually not great because the remedy is known and prescribed. Even in some cases charged with much superstitious fear, such as the birth of unlucky twins or the occurrence of certain forms of incest, when the entire village is rendered unclean, tradition takes care of the wrong by requiring temporary banishment of the offenders and elaborate purification rituals. In this way the burden of responsibility is lifted from the offenders and their fellow-villagers who are affected. Tradition tells them what to do in compensation for the wrong. When it is done, no weight of sin or guilt rests on the individual. He has in such matters, as in all other aspects of his life, no choice, no decisions to be made, only the responsibility to maintain the order which he and his society consider established and proved. To judge how suitable and how desirable is such an order,

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we can only take the evidence of Balinese behavior as it appears to us. If we see in the equilibrated, delicately adjusted, and essentially unstrained behavior of the people the clue to their happy temper, we must conclude that a static traditional culture such as theirs, solving all problems, prescribing every act, does form a desirable background against which well-balanced personalities may be reared.